

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SAB-01 SAM-01

SAJ-01 OMB-01 AID-20 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

USIA-15 SR-02 ORM-03 DRC-01 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ACDA-19

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P 281417Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8702

DIA PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

USINT DAMASCUS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BEIRUT 7430

GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

LONDON FOR LAMBRAKIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINS PMIL LE IS SY XF

SUBJ: PRESSURES INCREASING ON GOL

REF: BEIRUT 7291

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SUMMARY: AGAINST BACKDROP OF ANXIETY REGARDING POSSIBLE

ISRAELI RETALIATION FOR MAHARIYA RAID--MOST VIVIDLY
EXAMPLIFIED BY MASS EXODOS OF BOTH LEBANESE AND PALESTINIANS
FROM SOUTH--GOL IS COMING UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE FROM
VARIETY OF QUARTERS AS PLANS FOR CAIRO MEETING OF ARAB
DEFENSE COUNCIL PROCEED. ISRAELI SHELLING AND RECONNAISSANCE
FLIGHTS CONTINUE, AND GOL MUST CONTEND
WITH INTENSIFIED CALLS FROM FEDAYEEN AND CERTAIN ARAB
STATES FOR INTRODUCTION OF NON-LEBANESE FORCES TO FEFEND
SOUTH AGAINST FUTURE ISRAELI ATTACKS. GOL'S ABILITY TO
OVERCOME SUCHH PRESSURES MAY DEPEND TO GREAT EXTEND ON COMBINATION
OF ISRAELI RESTRAINT AND HOPED-FOR SUPPORT FROM MODERATE
ARAB GOVTS AT UPCOMING ARAB DEFENSE COUNCIL MEETING IN CAIRO.
IN EFFECT, GOL IS STILL WALKING TIGHT-ROPE OF TRYING AVOID
FURTHER IDF REPRISALS WHILE AT SAME TIME AVOIDING CONTRONTATION
WITH FEDAYEEN. END SUMMARY.

1. UPCOMING ARAB DEFENSE COUNCIL MEETING IN CAIRO TO
CONSIDER LEBANON'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS ISRAEL IS CAUSING
CONSIDERABLE FERMENT HERE, WITH FEDAYEEN AND LEFTIST,
PRO-FEDAYEEN PRESS AGITATING VOCALLY IN FAVOR GOL ACCEPTANCE
OF KUWAITI PROPOSAL (CAIRO 4605) FOR STATIONING OF ARAB
MILITARY FORCES IN LEBANON. IN ORDER TO ENHANCE ATTRACTIVENESS
OF THIS IDEA, SAME SOURCES ARE ALSO CHURNING OUT ALARUMS
RE IDF "TROOP CONCENTRATIONS" IN NORTHERN GALILEE AND
SPREADING STORY THAT GOL HAS SURREPTITIOUSLY APPROACHED
UNSYG WITH REQ FOR STATIONING UNEF-TYPE FORCE ON
LEBANESE SIDE OF BORDER WITH ISRAEL. (TO BEST OUR KNOWLEDGE,
AFTER DISCUSSING REPORT WITH FONOFF ACTING SYG, GOL HAS
DONE NO SUCH THING, ALTHOUGH CERTAIN LEBANESE POLITICAL
FIGURES--E.G., RAYMOND EDDE AND EVEN KAMAL JUMBLATT--
HAVE FREQUENTLY ENDORSED THIS IDEA IN PUBLIC.)

2. ISRAEL'S ANNOUNCED INTENTION OF STRIKING AT FEDAYEEN
AT WILL ACCORDING TO NO FIXED PATTERN, COMBINED WITH
ABSENCE TO DATE OF MAJOR IDF REPRISAL SINCE NAHARIYA
RAID, HAS ALSO CONTRIBUTED TO PUBLIC ANXIETY AND OFFICIAL
JITTERINESS. (ACCORDING TO LEBANESE ARMY G-2,
IDF BORDER ACTIVITY SINCE JUNE 26 HAS CONSISTED LARGELY
OF NIGHTLY ARTILLERY SHELLINGS--AROUND 100 ROUNDS EACH
NIGHT-OF AREAS IN ARQUB AND AROUND AITAROUN, BLIDA
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AND YAROUN IN CENTRAL SECTOR, PLUS SEVERAL OVERFLIGHTS
AND DROPPING OF FLARES ALONG BORDER. G-2 REPORTS ONE
WOMAN WOUNDED NIGHT OF JUNE 27-28.) CONSEQUENT (AND
CONTINUING) MASS EVACUATION OF LEBANESE VILLAGERS AND
PALESTINIANS FROM SOUTH LEBANON HAS HAD SAME CIRCULAR
EFFECT, BESIDES PRESENTING GOL WITH NEW INTERNAL SOCIO-
POLITICAL PROBLEMS. FINALLY, SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH CIVILIAN
EXODOS FROM SOUTHERN CAMPS AND VILLAGES, THERE IS OBSERVABLE

HEIGHTENING OF FEDAYEEN ACTIVITY IN FORTIFYING
ALL OF LEBANON'S 15 REFUGEE CAMPS AGAINST ANTICIPATED
ISRAELI ATTACKS.

3. LEBANESE CABINET MET AFTERNOON JUNE 26 TO CONSIDER
POLICY LINE WHICH GOL SHOULD TAKE IN CAIRO (WHERE PRIMIN
SOLH AND DEFMIN MAALOUF WILL REPRESENT LEBANON), AND IT
LIKELY THAT MAIN GOL AIM WILL BE SOMEHOW TO SIDE-TRACK

KUWAITI (AND SIMILAR) PROPOSALS WHILE SOUNDING OUT OTHER
ARAB GOVTS RE (A) THEIR READINESS TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON
FEDAYEEN TO CURTAIL OPERATIONS AGAINST ISRAEL FROM LEBANESE
TERRITORY, AND (B) POSSIBILITY OF THEIR PROVIDING CERTAIN
ITEMS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO LEBANESE ARMY.
ON LATTER POINT, PRES FRANGIE AND LEBANESE ARMY WOULD
PROBABLY BE WILLING ACCEPT ARAB FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE
AS WELL AS SOME MORE MODERN ANTI-AIRCRAFT GUNS THAN
EXIST AT PRESENT IN LEBANESE INVENTORY. WE UNDERSTAND,
HOWEVER, THAT THEY ARE OPPOSED TO ACQUIRING SURFACE
TO AIR MISSILES OR ANY OTHER ITEMS WHOSE USE MIGHT
RESULT IN EMBROILING LEBANESE ARMY WITH IDF. (ISRAELI
GEN GOR'S JUNE 27 REMARKS -- SEE FBIS M271212-- HAVE UNDOUBTEDLY
REINFORCED GOL CAUTION ON THIS SCORE.) AS REPORTED REFTEL, PRES
FRANGIE IS BY NO MEANS SATISFIED WITH ASSURANCES RE CURTAILMENT
OF FEDAYEEN ACTIVITY FROM SOUTH LEBANON GIVEN TO
HIM BY 'ARAFAT ON JUNE 24 (AND REPEATED TO
PRIMIN SOLH BY ABU ZA'IM JUNE 26). HOWEVER, LOCAL
PRESSURES ON HIM AND OTHER GOL LEADERS ARE SUCH THAT
THEY FEEL OBLIGED AVOID SAYING SO IN PUBLIC, AS WELL AS
BEING SEEN OPENLY TO DECLINE OFFERS OF ARAB TROOPS.

4. MEANWHILE, GOL OFFICIALS ARE DRAWING SOME ENCOURAGEMENT
FROM FACT THAT SYRIAN REPS (INCLUDING MILITARY)
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AT JUNE 23 MEETING HERE OF ARAB GOVTS CONCERNED
WITH UNRWA AFFAIRS EXPRESSED VOCAL DISAPPROVAL OF
FEDAYEEN PRESENCE AND BEHAVIOR IN LEBANON. ACCORDING
TO LEBANESE REPS PRESENT, SYRIANS--INCLUDING SA'IQA
REP--AGREED THAT FEDAYEEN ACTIVITIES WITHIN LEBANON
MERELY GIVE ISRAEL EXCUSE TO STRIKE AT HER AND THAT
LEGITIMATE FEDAYEEN OBJECTIVES LIE ENTIRELY WITHIN
ISRAEL AND OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. LEBANESE REPS WERE
SURPRISED TO HEAR SUCH TALK FROM SYRIANS AND DO NOT
KNOW IF IT REPRESENTED OFFICIAL SARG ATTITUDE OR WAS
SIMPLY DESIGNED TO HUMOR THEIR LEBANESE HOSTS.
(LEBANESE REPS APPARENTLY REFRAINED FROM ASKING IF
SARG HAD DECIDED REMOVE SA'IQA ELEMENTS FROM LEBANESE
TERRITORY.)

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SAB-01 SAM-01

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FM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

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INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BEIRUT 7430

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5. COMMENT: (A) EVEN MORE THAN IN PAST, GOL SEEMS
CAUGHT ABETWEEN COUNTERVAILING PRESSURES GENERATED
BY (1) ISRAELI INSISTENCE THAT IT EXERT EFFECTIVE
CONTROL OVER FEDAYEEN ACTIVITY IN AND FROM
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LEBANON AND (2) DETERMINATION OF FEDAYEEN--SUPPORTED BY CERTAIN ARAB STATES--TO MAINTAIN THEIR FREEDOM OF ACTION, EVEN IF THIS SHOULD MEAN DRAGGING LEBANON INTO UNWANTED AND COSTLY CONFRONTATION WITH ISRAEL. SITUATION THUS SEEMS TO BE DEVELOPING INTO PRECISELY WHAT MANY LOCAL OBSERVERS FEARED MIGHT HAPPEN FOLLOWING SYRIAN-ISRAELI DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT--I.E., THAT ISRAELI-LEBANESE BORDER WOULD BECOME SOLE THEATER OF HOSTILITIES CARRIED ON AGAINST ISRAEL BOTH BY ELEMENTS (E.G., PFLP, PFLP/GC, IRAQIS AND LIBYANS) ANXIOUS TO SPOIL ME SETTLEMENT EFFORT, AND BY OTHER ELEMENTS (E.G., PLO/FATAH "MODERATES," SYRIAN-BACKED SA'IQA, AND ERHAPS EVEN SARG ITSELF) INTENT ON PURSUING VIET CONG-STYLE "FIGHT AND TALK" POLICY AS MEANS--HOWEVER MISGUIDED--OF ENHANCING THEIR FUTURE INFLUENCE IN GENEVA. (B) BIGGEST LOSER IN THIS UNFOLDING DRAMA CAN ONLY BE LEBANON, WHOSE MILITARY IMPOTENCE--TRADITIONALLY ITS BEST DEFENSE AGAINST ISRAEL--NOW RENDERS GOL VIRTUALLY POWERLESS TO DEAL EFFECTIVELY WITH CHALLENGE PRESENTED BY FEDAYEEN, ESPECIALLY WHEN LATTER POSSESS EXTERNAL ARAB SYMPATHY AND/OR SUPPORT. WOULD SEEM THAT GOL WILL REQUIRE COMBINATION OF CONTINUING ISRAELI RESTRAINT PLUS SUPPORT FROM MODERATE ARAB GOVTS (ESPECIALLY EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA AND SYRIA) AT UPCOMING ADC MEETING IN CAIRO IF IT IS TO RETAIN ABILITY TO KEEP UP WITH EVENTS TAKING PLACE ON ITS OWN SOIL, MUCH LESS BEGIN TO EXERT SOME SEMBLANCE OF CONTROL OVER THEM. GODLEY

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